

New York, New York
February 27, 1975

To the Leninist Trotskyist Faction Coordinators

Dear Comrades,

Enclosed are the minutes of the recent meeting of the International Executive Committee of the Fourth International.

As you will notice, a few minor items are missing. These will be included in the minutes when they are printed in the International Internal Discussion Bulletin. In addition, the IMT informs us they are preparing a brief attachment. However, we wanted to get the essential information to comrades as rapidly as possible, and so decided not to wait for the final editing.

Comradely,

Ed Shaw

MINUTES OF THE INTERNATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

FEBRUARY 27-30, 1975

Present:

IEC Full Members: Aubin, Fourier, Roman, Georges, Segur, Thinville, Ghulam, Jones, Ned, Petersen, Kurt, Mintoff, Claudio, Fedeli, Rudi, Walter, Carl, Duret, Jens, Tom, Valdes, Mikado, Jaber, Hovis, Philip, Marcel, Adair, Abel, Yip Nin (for Peng Shu-tse), Friedrich, Key, Martinez, Tito (for Tuco), Atwood, Celso, Galois, Johnson, Pepe, Stateman, Thérèse, Marcos (for Antonio), Karl, Sakai

IEC Alternate Members: Domingo, Werner, Brewster, Moss, Fred, Mogens, Metz, Sylvia, Hugo, Conway, Fireman, Anders, Maurice (for Pedro), Williams, Mitchell, Asgar, Hino

IEC Consultative Members: Ricardo (for Enrique), Miguel, Alejandro (for Ricardo), Marti (for Saul), Claude, MacKenzie, Alva, Josef, Penta, Torben, Hans, Franz, Sven, Jorge (for Anna), Guillaume, Alfredo, Dunder, Martin, Otto, Cyrus, Hassin (for Ahmad), Josefina, Roberto, Carmen, Melan (for Raoul)

Control Commission Members: Tantalus, Hoffman, Anderson, Bundy

Invited: Miguel, Alexander, Dimitrios

Session 1, January 27. Opened 8:30 p. m. by Walter for the outgoing United Secretariat

- (i) Commemoration of death of James P. Cannon
- (ii) Commemoration of death of Jabra Nicola
- (iii) Commemoration of Argentine Trotskyists murdered by reaction, comrades César Robles, Oscar Dalmacio Mesa, Mario Sida, Antonio Moses, Rubén Bouzas, Juan Carlos Nievas, Inosencio Fernandez of the PST and comrades Mario Rodriguez, Adriana Drangosh, and Tomás Carricaburu of the LCR
- (iv) Message of greeting to Georg Jungclas unable to attend
- (v) Message of solidarity to Rohan Wijeweera

Proposed that the presidium be composed of the following: Dunder, Josefina, Ned, and Thinville.

APPROVED

Chair for first session: Dunder.

Proposed that comrades Key and Hugo act as secretaries for the IEC meeting.

APPROVED

Proposed that on all procedural questions there be one speaker for, one against, each with two minutes and decision made by hand vote.

APPROVED

Proposed agenda:

1. World Economic Situation
2. Argentina
3. International Control Commission report
4. Election of United Secretariat
5. Miscellaneous

APPROVED

1. REPORT ON WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION

Reporter Walter

Discussion: Fireman, Karl, Sakai, Valdes, MacKenzie

Summary: Walter

Motion by Walter: (a) To approve the general line of the report; (b) To refer the editing of the resolution to a commission consisting of Comrades Pepe and Walter

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Recess 11:45

Session 2, January 28, 2:45 p. m.

2. ARGENTINA

Chair: Ned

Reporter for IMT: Marti (1 hour 30 minutes)

Reporter for LTF: Guillaume (1 hour 30 minutes)

Valdes report: (20 minutes)

Recess 6:05 p. m.

Session 3, January 28, 8:30 p. m.

Argentina continued.

Discussion: Karl, Miguel, Roberto, Hovis, Martinez, Jones, Marcel, Alejandro, Otto, Georges, Abel, Walter, Josefina, Miguel, Key.

Recess 11:30 p. m.

Session 4, January 29, 10:30 a. m.

Argentina continued.

Discussion continued: Jorge, Marcos, Galois, Pepe, Domingo, Alfredo, Stateman, Ghulam, Thérèse, Melan, Livio, Celso, Fourier, Sakai

Recess 1:00 p. m.

Session 5, January 29, 2:00 p. m.

Argentina continued.

Summaries:

(i) Valdes

Motion by Valdes: To approve the general line of the Valdes resolution.

(ii) Guillaume for LTF

Motion by Guillaume: To approve the general line of the resolution presented by the LTF "In Reply to the IMT's Open Letter No. 2."

(iii) Marti for IMT

Motion by Marti: To approve the general line of the Argentine resolution presented by the IMT.

[The three Argentine resolutions will appear in a separate number of the International Internal Discussion Bulletin.]

Motion by Fourier: The IEC, meeting on the 29th of January, 1975, approves the declaration of the United Secretariat of December 1974 (which appeared in Inprecor No. 14/15) on the policy followed by the P. S. T. (which is set out in the two declarations of its Executive Committee.)

Voting:

(i) On the general line of the IMT resolution

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	26	18
Against	14	21
Abstentions	2	

(ii) On the Fourier motion

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	29	18
Against	13	21

(iii) On the general line of the LTF resolution

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	12	21
Against	30	18

(iv) On Valdes motion

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	1	0
Against	28	28
Abstentions	8	6
Not Voting	5	5

[Members with decisive vote are full members of the International Executive Committee and seated alternate members. Those with consultative vote include alternate members who are not seated to replace a full member, consultative members from sympathizing groups, members of the International Control Commission, and observers. Observers include those from organizations which owing to reactionary legislation in their own countries, like the United States and Argentina, are not able to affiliate to the Fourth International and cast consultative votes only.]

Recess 3:15 p. m.

Session 6, January 30, 12:00 noon

3. REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONTROL COMMISSION

Chair: Josefina

Report submitted by Tantalus, Anderson and Brundy:

The International Control Commission (ICC) received the following unanimously voted motion of the September 7-8, 1974, meeting of the United Secretariat:

"The United Secretariat requests the International Control Commission to investigate the accusation made by the PC of the SWP that the 'leadership of the International Majority Tendency including elected members of the United Secretariat was involved in the split operation carried out by the IT. . . .' It requests that this body make a full investigation of all the facts and conditions leading to these accusations and submit a report to the next meeting of the International Executive Committee on the basis of its findings relative to all these facts and conditions."

The ICC also received appeals from members of the SWP against their "expulsion" from the SWP. We want to make clear that the SWP is barred by reactionary legislation from affiliation to the Fourth International; consequently the findings and recommendations

of the ICC have no disciplinary or binding effect on the SWP. The assessments of the ICC are intended to voice only a moral opinion.

The ICC agreed to approach the matter before it as of the utmost importance to the future of the world Trotskyist movement. The ICC agreed to try to act in such a way as to alleviate the tensions of the present situation in the movement. The ICC members did not reach agreement on a complete assessment of its findings. Assessments will be made in separate statements. The ICC members can, however, commonly propose the following to the IEC:

1. To make the recommendation that the SWP act in good faith and consider without delay the collective application of the IT for reintegration in the SWP.
2. We note that the IT states it wants to participate in public activities supported by the SWP. We note that the SWP does not object to this. Until the situation is resolved, we recommend that when the IT and SWP are involved in the same activities they seek to maintain a cooperative attitude avoiding public attacks on one another.
3. The problems dealt with in our investigation lead us to the conclusion that it is necessary that the IEC initiate a discussion on the organizational norms of the movement.

January 27, 1975
/s/ Tantalus, Anderson, Bundy

Discussion: Tantalus, Bundy.

Motion from Celso, Pepe, Thinville, and Walter.

I.

The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International accepts the following proposals commonly agreed upon by the International Control Commission in its investigation:

- "1. To make the recommendation that the SWP act in good faith and consider without delay the collective application of the IT for reintegration in the SWP.
- "2. We note that the IT states it wants to participate in public activities supported by the SWP. We note that the SWP does not object to this. Until the situation is resolved, we recommend that when the IT and the SWP are involved in the same activities they seek to maintain a cooperative attitude avoiding public attack on one another.
- "3. The problems dealt with in our investigation lead us to the conclusion that it is necessary that the IEC

initiate a discussion on the organizational norms of the movement."

II.

In accordance with the "Agreement on Measures to Help Maintain Unity in the Fourth International," which was adopted by the last world congress, the status of the Internationalist Tendency is recognized as follows: Although it stands outside of the organizational structure and discipline of the Socialist Workers Party, it remains in fraternal sympathy with the Fourth International. Its members would be members of the Fourth International if they were not barred from this by reactionary legislation.

III.

Since such a division of the Trotskyist movement in a single country is abnormal, every effort should be made to bring them together in a single organization on a principled basis at the earliest possible date.

IV.

Two members of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, Jack Barnes and Joseph Hansen, have pledged that they will urge the National Committee at its coming plenum to weigh favorable implementation of the proposals commonly agreed on by the International Control Commission in its investigation.

V.

In considering the overall internal situation in the Fourth International, the International Executive Committee charges the incoming United Secretariat to do its utmost to lower tensions and to foster moves toward unifications where the movement is split.

To set an example in this, the composition of the incoming United Secretariat and Bureau have been broadened to include a consultative member of the IEC. To maintain the statutory distinction between sections and sympathizing organizations, the minutes of the United Secretariat will record only decisive votes.

The Bureau will undertake a series of projects to strengthen and expand the world Trotskyist movement to which all tendencies pledge solid backing and joint commitment to ensure their success.

Full Members: Adair, Aubin, Claudio, Crandall, Domingo, Duret, Fourier, Georges, Ghulam, Hovis, Jens, Jones, Marcel, Marline, Martinez, Mintoff, Ned, Roman, Rudi, Walter.

Fraternal Members: Atwood, Celso, Galois, Johnson, Pepe, Thérèse.

Consultative Members: Juan.

The following list is proposed for the incoming Bureau: Aubin, Claudio, Duret, Galois, Jens, Johnson, Jones, Marcel, Ned, Roman, Walter.

Discussion: Sakai

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

Motion by Thinville on behalf of the IMT:

The IEC recommends that collaboration begins as rapidly and closely as possible under the leadership of the SWP, between the comrades who are members of the Internationalist Tendency and the SWP, in view of making reintegration easier.

Discussion: Celso

Voting

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	29	20
Against	12	21
Not Voting	1	

Statement by Karl:

I did not vote on the motion, because in reality this motion does not go beyond the common motion. I protest this motion because it means a beforehand interpretation of what "good faith" means for the SWP leadership.

Statement by Hovis:

The I. T. wishes to state once again, that despite its continuing political disagreements with our party leadership, and with its conception of democratic centralism, we are prepared to accept and work under the discipline of the SWP leadership in building the party in fraternal solidarity with the International.

Recess 1:10 p. m.

Session 7, January 30. 2:30 p. m.

4. ELECTION OF UNITED SECRETARIAT

Chair: Josephina

Statement by Celso, Pepe, Thinville and Walter:

The four comrades who presented the common resolution urge comrade Karl to reconsider his request not to be reelected to the United Secretariat. The only reason his name is not on the proposed slate is his request.

Statement by Karl:

With this I resign from the United Secretariat and ask the IEC to acknowledge it.

The outcome of the Vito case has shown to me that under the present difficult conditions, my membership in the USec cannot serve a positive purpose.

I was not nominated for the USec by the 3rd Tendency or the Kompass tendency at the World Congress, nor did these demand a representative in the USec. And I was not nominated for proportional reasons because for this the 3rd Tendency was too small. I had been included in the proposal for the USec at the IEC after the 10th Congress as a representative of the Kompass tendency, because at that time no majority existed in the leadership of the German section. Since the 1974 Convention of the GIM this reason no longer stands.

Under these two conditions, the outcome of the Vito case for the 3rd tendencies, and the changes of the German situation, I consider my withdrawal from the US to be acceptable for the IEC.

Declaration by Franz, Mintoff, Petra, Kurt

The members of the IEC and the CC of the GIM, German section of the Fourth International, signing this declaration, regret the step that comrade Karl -- longstanding member of the leadership of the GIM and representative of the Kompass Tendency -- took in not standing for re-election to the United Secretariat.

Comrade Karl's very criticism that the international leadership bodies function merely as a "parity commission" should lead to the opposite step: increased involvement in the leadership of the Fourth International.

This goes especially for the period we are entering: the decisions of the January '75 IEC Plenum are especially directed towards reducing factional tensions through increased integration of the tendencies in the United Secretariat and the Bureau of the United Secretariat.

In this sense we appeal to comrade Karl to use his right to attend United Secretariat meetings as an IEC member whenever possible. At the same time we appeal to all members and sympathizers of the Kompass Tendency to influence comrade Karl in the direction of revising his decision.

5. MISCELLANEOUS

Chair: Josefina

(All voting by hand)

A. Message from Peng Shu-tse unable to attend

January 4, 1975
To the Members of the IEC
Dear Comrades:

I regret not being able to attend the IEC meeting at this time but would like to submit some important proposals. They are as follows:

1) This meeting of the IEC should decide to hold a world congress next year to discuss the current policies of the International because many pressing questions have to be clarified and the present world situation might develop very rapidly.

2) This IEC meeting should decide to open discussion in the International for this coming congress in time to translate the documents into the major languages, namely French, English, Spanish and German.

3) The direction of the world economy seems to be developing into a crisis situation. In the very near future perhaps, a real depression might break out. In this context, what steps should we take?

First of all we should carefully analyze the evolution of the world economy as a whole. This will help us formulate the best policy to deal with the impending circumstances.

In my opinion the most significant developments will take place in Europe, particularly in Italy and Great Britain. The economic, social and political conditions in these countries seem to be growing more and more critical and in rapid pace. It is possible that revolutions will break out. We should consider the predicaments in these two countries and take action to grapple with the coming events.

I would like to propose above all and as primary, that all organizations and sympathizing sections of the Fourth International in Europe form a united front coalition with any and all other groups and organizations who claim to be Trotskyist outside the International. They should discuss united action especially within the working class. I consider this proposal paramount and urgent in dealing with this foreshadowing situation in Europe.

Of course, there are many other questions which the IEC should consider discussing at this meeting but I will not go into any further proposals at this time.

With Trotskyist Revolutionary Greetings,

Peng Shu-tse

B. Motion by Valdes recommending the dissolution of the factions in the Fourth International

[Translation of motion to follow.]

Voting:

	Decisive vote	Consultative vote
For	1	1
Against	28	29
Abstentions	11	6
Not voting	2	1

C. Valdes Motion on James P. Cannon:

1. The International Executive Committee of the Fourth International, meeting on January 30, 1975, pays homage to James P. Cannon, who died during the past year, one of the founders of the North American Trotskyist movement and the Fourth International.

2. The IEC resolves to recommend to the sections of the Fourth International that they publish in their respective languages the principal works of Comrade Cannon, for the political education of our cadres.

CARRIED
(Abstentions, 7
Not voting, 4)

Declaration by Ghulam:

I abstained on the motion related to comrade Cannon, not because of the first point, but because of the last point which, without concrete proposals is empty and meaningless. To vote for such motions only encourages further stupidities.

Declaration by Moss:

I did not vote because I consider the motion meaningless not because of a lack of regard for the great contributions of James P. Cannon to our movement. Also I feel that his writings should be studied as Marxists study all such works. But to vote for empty motions like this is to encourage further meaningless motions.

Declaration by Petersen:

I no-voted on the Cannon resolution because, although I am enthusiastically for the publication of comrade Cannon's books in as many languages as possible, a blanket recommendation without taking into account the problem of small sections is meaningless.

D. Argentina Defence Campaign

Motion by Martinez: To adopt the following statement:

The IEC calls on the world Trotskyist movement to organize an international campaign against the repression in Argentina under the following guidelines:

1. For repeal of the repressive laws and the state of siege.
2. For release of all the political prisoners and jailed unionists and students; and for dissolution of the special repressive groups.
3. Against the police, parapolice, and fascist gangs, and for bringing them to justice and punishing them for the murders they commit.

CARRIED
(Abstentions, 6
Not voting, 1)

Declaration by Mogens, Frej, Jaber, Karl (ICC), MacKenzie, and Sven:

Explanation of Abstention. The motion was presented orally to the plenum and it wasn't possible to clarify its precise content before the vote was taken. Our doubts surround the formulation of "trial and punishment" for fascist and parapolice terrorists. If this means that we in our propaganda advocate that such elements should be most appropriately dealt with through the bourgeois legal process, then it is at least debatable, particularly in light of the polemic on the PST's positions on bourgeois institutions. It goes without saying that we completely agree with the proposal to mount an international campaign in defense of Argentine political prisoners.

E. Spanish Political Prisoners Defence Campaign

Motion by Segur to adopt the following statement:

The IEC, in response to an appeal from several political prisoners -- including Trotskyist comrades -- jailed by the Franco dictatorship, recommends to all the sections and sympathizing organizations to develop the greatest possible campaign in their press, through agitation and by mobilizations in solidarity with the political prisoners who are the victims of Franco's repression. We should work for the realization of broad united actions with the goal of demanding the immediate release of all the political prisoners of the Spanish state.

CARRIED UNANIMOUSLY

F. Letter to the IEC Plenum on an appeal concerning Comrade Vito submitted by Karl

Discussion: Alfonso, Karl

Karl postpones possible request for consideration of this matter to the next meeting of the IEC.

G. Appeal from the PCC of the ICP of Greece

Agreed to concur with the recommendation of the Greek comrades to refer the appeal from the Greek comrades to the United Secretariat.

H. IEC Membership

Motion to accept the following substitutions in the membership of the IEC:

That comrade Martine replace comrade Said
That comrade Anna replace comrade Jules
That comrade Josephine replace comrade Scott
That comrade Silvio replace comrade Pedro
That comrade Marline replace comrade Segur as a full member of the IEC and that comrade Segur take comrade Marline's place as a consultative member.

That comrade Domingo replace comrade Thinville as a full member of the IEC and that comrade Thinville take comrade Domingo's place as an alternate member.

CARRIED

I. Status of the Liga Comunista of Chile

Motion by Domingo:

On the basis of the motion adopted at the Tenth World Congress which stated:

"The Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International has received a formal petition from the Chilean Communist League (Liga Comunista) asking to be recognized as a sympathizing organization.

"Even without an exhaustive study of the Chilean situation and detailed knowledge of the political and organisational reality of the Liga Comunista, the antecedents in possession of the International's leadership, recommend to the Congress taking a favorable attitude towards the formal petition formulated by this organization.

"Nevertheless, the comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Partido Socialista Revolucionario), Chilean section of the Fourth International, have not ended their discussion in this matter among themselves and have not held the

indispensable discussions with the Liga Comunista Chilena in order to take a definite position.

"The Congress considers that, despite this, the petition of the comrades must be received positively and fraternally recommends to the PSR comrades to take the means in order to adopt a position in relation to the L. C. 's petition, in a favourable sense.

"The importance of the political developments in Chile during these last 4 years, the lessons that must be drawn by the revolutionary Marxists, not only in Chile, but on a world scale, imply a profound discussion in the International, especially about the activity of the Chilean Trotskyists during this period.

"The Congress mandates the new leadership in order to open the most rapidly possible a discussion with the Chilean comrades of the official section and the Liga Comunista, discussion which should lead to the unification of the two;"

and after having received the opinion of the PSR;

the IEC will work with the Liga Comunista of Chile as a sympathizing organization. It mandates the United Secretariat to take whatever measures are necessary to assure that the discussions now underway between the LC and the PSR should take concrete form through common activities and should aim to facilitate the unification of Chilean Trotskyists.

CARRIED

J. Campaign for Rohan Wijeweera

Motion by Alva, Ghulam, Sakai and Vergeat:

The IEC notes the vicious life sentence imposed by the Sri Lanka government (which includes the CP and the renegades of the LSSP). The IEC directs the USFI to prepare immediately an international campaign on Wijeweera's behalf similar to that waged in defence of Hugo Blanco in the sixties.

CARRIED

IEC Plenum adjourned: 3:30 p. m.

Attachment No. 1

February 5, 1975

To the United Secretariat Bureau

Dear Comrades,

The Steering Committee of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction met in Amsterdam January 25-26 and January 30-31, immediately preceding and following the plenum of the International Executive Committee.

Three decisions were taken during these meetings.

1. A motion was adopted to approve the general line of the PST Executive Committee's statement, "In Reply to the IMT's Open Letter No. 2" and to present it as a resolution of the LTF at the plenum of the IEC and for publication in the IIDB.

2. A new Coordinating Committee of the LTF was elected, composed of the members of the United Secretariat who belong to the Leninist Trotskyist Faction, plus an additional IEC member from the PST-Argentina and an IEC member from the Liga Comunista of Spain.

3. The following motion was adopted as a general guideline for the leadership of the faction:

"To charge the comrades on the Coordinating Committee of The Leninist Trotskyist Faction to function in such a way as to maximize the possibilities of relieving the factional tensions, of opening up a new stage of collaboration through the elected bodies of the world movement, and of advancing the discussion of the political questions facing the International."

Please print this letter as an attachment to the IEC minutes.

Comradely,
s/Mary-Alice Waters
for the Steering Committee of the Leninist Trotskyist Faction

(From Agenda Point 5 Miscellaneous)

B. Motion by Valdes recommending the dissolution of the factions in the Fourth International

Whereas:

(a) One finds important differences after a lengthy analysis of the Tenth World Congress documents, but none of a strategic character that would justify the formation of factions within the Fourth International.

The existence of factions of this type over a period of five years is unprecedented in our movement. According to Lenin and especially Trotsky in his polemic with Shactman and Burnham, a faction is justified only for the two or three months prior to a congress and then only if fundamental political differences exist. This is permitted as a necessary evil to guarantee democratic rights. Once the congress has ended -- be it a world congress or that of a national section -- the factions should be dissolved, leaving only very loose tendencies with no organizational structure or internal discipline separate from that of the party as a whole. Otherwise, said Trotsky, the dynamic of the process leads to a split.

(b) The current factions have tried to avoid a split but they have done so on the basis of an organizational rather than a political agreement -- wherein the "higher ups" argue out the division of posts between the factions. This "summit" agreement has meant secret negotiations between the IMT Bureau and the minority faction without consulting the ranks of the International, as if such questions could be resolved in our organization by bilateral and parity methods. Through this procedure of agreements among the "elite" we run the risk of creating a tendency toward semifederalism in the International.

(c) The polemic has led to a dialogue of the deaf, unbelievable among responsible Trotskyist leaders, and to the kind of distortion of positions that only occurs between class enemies. In spite of the majority's self-criticism in relation to the Argentine PRT, the minority insists that the majority is focoist, guerrillaist, and militarist. Are the differences on the Chinese cultural revolution, the characterization of Egypt, or the construction of parties in Europe or other parts of the world of a strategic character that would justify a faction?

We cannot go on living in this factional atmosphere which is degrading the "old" comrades as well as the new ones who enter the Fourth International hopeful of finding in us the embryo of the "new man" that Che Guevara spoke of.

(d) It is a question of DETENTE OR COLD WAR. The continuation of this lengthy, prolonged, and

irregular -- very irregular -- cold war at this level of the debate is irreversibly leading toward the explosion of a multi-megaton bomb or, to be less dramatic, to a split in the Fourth International.

The only option for fulfilling the limited, joint agreements of the Tenth World Congress is DETENTE, an agreement for "peaceful coexistence" between the tendencies (different from other forms of peaceful coexistence in the world), not to put a brake on the process of constructing the world party but precisely to consolidate it upon a healthier basis for discussion.

(e) During this January 1975 IEC a new compromise formula for solving the problem of the IT in the SWP will be reached, but it will leave the problems of the factional crisis without a real dialectical resolution. And for this we delegates to the IEC have spent hours waiting between sessions for agreement to be reached at the "summit" by the bureau of both factions.

On the basis of these considerations, I propose the following:

MOTION

1. Dissolution of the factions.
2. Clear delimitation of the agreements and disagreements.
3. Publication of tendency differences in INTERNAL BULLETINS.
4. Integration of the current minority tendency in all the highest bodies of the International on the basis of its real proportional strength as determined by the number of delegates it had at the Tenth World Congress.
5. Very rapid reintegration of the IT into the SWP.
6. Commitment to take steps to unify the Trotskyists in those countries where there are majority and minority tendencies.
7. Opening a fraternal discussion on the main epicenters of the revolution in order to collectively elaborate a line and single out the priority sectors on the basis of our real forces in such countries, and, flowing from that, the joint adoption of practical measures for material and political support.
8. Drafting a discussion document on the current conjuncture and tasks and perspectives in LATIN AMERICA, going beyond the abstract discussion on armed struggle to provide our sections with a concrete

line of action.

9. Discussion on: the anti-imperialist united front the workers united front, and the revolutionary united front, and their application in the countries where we have forces; the correct tactics to fight for democratic rights; peculiarities of existing popular fronts and nationalist governments; the conception of the party and of work in mass organizations, and its relation to political-military activity.

Working together, elaborating the line collectively, and carrying out a common praxis, we will begin to overcome the current internal problem and create the conditions for taking advantage of the exceptional situation facing the Fourth International.

If we continue as we have up to now, eating and sleeping in separate buildings and, at times, not even greeting each other as though we were enemies, there will be no "human detente." And, in the last analysis, it is men who make policy. If

they have mental reservations, there will be no guarantee of unity.

You members of the IEC, representatives of the ranks of world Trotskyism, have the opportunity to make the first step.

If we don't move toward a "thaw" and plunge into the swelling current of the river called "the mass upsurge," I want to emphasize that the outcome will be inexorable. HISTORY WILL NOT ABSOLVE US!

Then, at the next world congress will come the unflinching self-criticisms and repentant breast-beating, which will be of little use because for the honor of defending hypothetical, perfectionist tactical positions and carrying them to incredible factional extremes, the next upsurge of struggle of the world working class will have passed us by -- right under our very noses.

January 29, 1975